The following article has already appeared print, but we know not in what paper. We kny, however, from the friend who sends it to us. it the writer is one of the most intelligent, patric, and independent citizens in our country, and e have pleasure in giving it passport to our reader

Classification of the Voters in a Republic, we Universal Suffrage, agreeably to experience.

In a republic, in which the officers and legislators are ci sen by universal suffrage, the citizens exercising that pri lege may, agreeably to experience, be classified as follows: 1st. Those who are engaged assiduously in their vario callings, so as to be induced to give attention to their politic interests only from a sense of duty or anxiety for their own their country's welfare.

2d. Those who, from honorable ambition or pecunia need, would aspire to occupy the offices of the Governmen refusing to refer even to their declaration of May in behalf of but who are nevertheless a tuated by a paramount desire fi Italian independence. Nevertheless, the Minister of Foreign the welfare of their country, " What they would highly (a Affairs, being interrogated touching his acceptation of the profitably) that they would holily." These may be calle vote, replied that the Executive would still consider itself the Cato's of a republic. Their desire for the honors an bound by the declaration of May; from which it was inferred emolument of office, is subordinate to their interest in nations that he, the Minister, at least, wished to involve the Governprosperity. Like the true mother in the trial before Solomon ment in an armed intervention, if the diplomatic mediation they would rather see the object of their affection under ano with the Austrians should fail. A great majority of the Asther's control, than have it maltreated. 3d. Those who, like Julius Cassar, think that political pow-official organ) of yesterday says : "It was believed in Hun-

er is of all others the most excusable incentive to wrong-"Si . gary that Austria is decided to get peace in Italy by sacrijus violandum est, violandum est causa regnandi." Such were e fices, in order to be able to put down the Hungarian revoing that political dishonesty will unavoidably be in the ascen- republic towards Italy would extend to Hungary." The as to become partakers of the honors and emoluments in pre- Quixotism. ference to mea who will be less scrupulous.

A friend, whose political course created some disapprobation, used the toilowing language in palliation : ". You must have perceived that in this country a man of uncompromising integrity has no lovers." Another said : "What can you do on shore by railing against those who are in the boat You must get in and take an our, if you wish any chance of pushing her off from the rocks."

4th. Those who will have the mastery at any expense, either from their uneovernable cupidity and ambition, or from their inability in any other way to acquire distinction or emolument. These are the Catilines of a republic. Like the false mother, they would rather have the object of their pretended solicitude involved in war or torn by faction than to see it ruled by

It might seem natural that the citizens who constitute the first and second classes should unite to form and uphold an honest and able Government; but unfortunately persons composing the first class are too much occupied with the pursuit of money, of amusement, or with private cares to study the national affairs so as to judge for themselves. They naturallytake their opinions from neighboring political leaders. Like all other men, they are more influenced by their prejudices and their passions than their reason. Few among them have either time of disposition to read abstruce political documents or discuisitions, and when they do give attention to politics, lean to those who flatter them most. Their feeings being enlisted on any one side, they read only these newspapers and attend only to those speakers that tend to strengthen their pre-

Hence a majority of the first class usually become the tools of the Cuesars and Catilines of the third and fourth classes. These last mentioned classes will naturally co operate, being of course associated by a community of objects and measures yet the greater conscientiousness of the Casarian politicians makes them at times unwilling to concur in any mischievous policy which may be proposed by their Catilinian associates, while on the other hand the second class, as well as the first, preferring the lesser of two evils, will enlist under any Casar who may save them from a Catiline.

The Catilinians, of course, are supported by all the lowest and most ignorant of our voters, especially the populace of our cities and low foreigners. They are on this account always intent upon lowering the requisites for suffrage, and getting as large an addition as possible to our vote s from the emptying of European fails and almshouses.

Nevertheless, before complaining of our political system, we should see whether it be not better than those which have prevailed elsewhere. Formerly armies were arrayed against each other to decide by deadly weapons those differences which are now settled by political parties through the bellot-box This is a great improvement; yet, in avoiding bloodshed, this mode of setting differences does not get rid of many of the vices of warfare, while it begets a mischievous progeny of its own. In either case organization is indispensable to cuccess. In one case submission to a President and his caucus, in the

In military affairs subordination is of the utmost importance; so that, whatever may be the errors of the commanderin-chief, each subattern must yield the most implicit submission. So in our political warfare, the success of a party requires a unity of action which can only be obtained by abject obedience to caucus dictation.

In military operations every deception which can lead to the discomfiture of the enemy is practised; so is it in a political campaign, as respects political antagonists. If poisoned balls are used by one army, they will be resorted to by the other. If by one party the bailot box is vitiated by false votes, so will it be done by the other; for although there may be many in a party who will not retaliate by lying or fraud, there are will not hecitate at imitating any example however flagitious.

Unity of action being indispensable to victory, it follows that the party which makes victory the primary object, regardless of sincurity or the ultimate consequences to the public good, will be most likely to be victorious. They will make the best political soldiers.

Politicians who may be too conscientious to compromis like the Cameromans and Presbyterians in the battle with the royal forces as described by Scott, will be altercating with the most singuine advocates of the text of the constitution. each other instead of resisting the onset of their opponents.

Wise knaves are less mischievous as rulers than honest fools, incapable of perceiving the ill effects of bad measures. votes, by the direct suffrage of all the electors of the French The former will only do mischief as long as it may be beneficial to them, and there are but few cases in which a mischievous policy will not react upon the statesman from whom it proceeds.

It is the interest of those who are at the helm of government, however dishonestly attained, to manage it wisely. Moreover, ambition excites them to act so that they may gain France. Prince Louis Napoleon took this occasion to aver reputation with the world at large.

Hence, from the time that the 3d and 4th classes get a de eided ascendency, they begin to consult the public wolfare as tribune. His German accent offends French ears; the real of the month—the motional Assembly at far as they know how. If, under these circumstances, they adopt a measure which their intelligent opponents of the 2d class can conscientionally approve, the measure meets with acquiescence, if not with applause.

Widely different is the result if the 24 class attain the helm. In that event, every measure is assailed, because it is theirs, for him in that Assembly to do or to hope. He can boast of if for no other consideration.

The 3d, and more especially the 4th class, when out of thusand voters in all ; he has concluded to be the representapower, are prone to be so insubordingle and ill contrived, that tive of Paris, which relieves us from another election. A the consequent mischief, when they are out of office, tends so very well-informed member of the Assembly, in conversation greatly to neutralize any good which their opponents can ac- with me yesterday, mentioned his belief that the southern and complish, that it seems almost questionable whether it is not westers provinces will vote for Henry V; some of the middle better to relinquish the helm to them than to strive to makage and nothern for Napoleon Louis, and some for the Prince de it successfully in spite of their violent or insilious opposition. Joinvile; none of them would care for the old outlawry of Thus it appears the real friends of the country are liable to be the royal family. General Cavaignae might have calculated placed in a predict ment analogous to that of the Jawish mother, on a considerable number of adherents; but the act of voting in which they find it better to yield the management of the na- against a choice by the people must effect his popularity in tional vessel to the army of office expectants, since so long as the interior, and will certainly be turned to account by his adthe latter are excluded from the objects of their cupidity and versaries. The question remaining before the Assembly is, ambition, they will interfere with every measure requisite to Shall the election take place immediately, or after the whole the success of the voyage.

For one, however, the author will uncessingly strive to promote the ascendency of honesty, wisdom, and patriotism. press their desire of an election next month, as the committee Let us not give up the ship because we have those aboard on the constitution thick that their work will be carried through who endeavor to alarm us by careering her until her scuppers are even with the water's edge. Let us hope that hon est men will make concessions to each other's opinious, in order to escape the painful spectacle of seeing those at the helm who would throw overboard every thing but that which volution of February, touching universal suffrage, which was contributes to their own capidity and aggrandizement.

AN INDEPENDENT TATLORITE.

PARIS CORRESPONDENCE OF LITTELL'S LIVING AGE .- (R. WALSH, ESQ.)

PARIS, OCTOBER 11, 1848. Among the most remarkable speeches in the Assembly last week was one of LEDBU ROLLIN-a formal profession and advocacy of the doctrines and purposes of the red republic; armed propagandism; alliances with nations, not with Governments; immediate and immense issue of paper money; war for Italian independence or for German unity and demo cratic freedom; no executive chief, but a ministry of the choice, and under the constant control, of a national convention; progressive taxation by which to level all fortunes. He quoted Washington's advice to our Union against foreign alliances, the monarchies being necessarily and essentially hostile to republics; the French Assembly should sanction no diplomatic conjunction of France with England for any purpose; they had pledged themselves to the independence of Italy. In America, he suggested, Congress lays down principles for diplo matic negotiations and external policy, which the Executive is obliged to follow. But the Assembly, after earnest debate, passed to the order of the day, at the request of Cavaignac, sembly are decidedly averse to war. The National (semihis and such are their sentiments. Men of this class, believ- clution at once. If such be the aim, the obligations of our dant, deem it excusable that they should compromise so far Assembly can never be persuaded or driven to that degree of

On Friday last the cardinal question, whether the President of the French Republic should be elected by universal suffree or by the National Assembly directly, came up for discussion. The galleries were thronged at an early hour; the house had few vacant seats. It was known that the extreme democratic division, the Mountain, the radical journals, the executive this f and the ministers, and the whole cotorie of the Nationa, including the speaker of the Assembly, were opposed to the irst scheme, and had prepared themselves with every intimation and parliamentary managuvre by which the second plan, or a first or provisional election by the Assembly, might be achievel. The draught of the constitution prescribed the principle f universal suffrage; the Legitimists preferred this, of course, because most favorable to the exertion of their influence is the interior; the ex-deputies and the Or-

"I yesterday listened with sincere and conscientious anxie. may rity would have been large. y to the remarks which were made by an honorable representative, (M. Parieu;) but the considerations developed by that honerable centleman are not new to me. I have also read other to a Generalissime and his council of war is indispensable. | and studied the constitutions of other nations in which monarchy has recoiled before the forms of liberty. I am acquaint ed with the United States, with Venues and Genoa: I am aware in our own history of the system of '93; I have seen that combined mechanism according to which twenty five candidates were pointed out, from amongst whom was to be che sen the President of the republic ; I have endeavored to render to myself an account of all these systems, and I declare that I have there found no information, no certain evidence, no application of a great and general principle which could calight our ninds. M. Parieu vesterday adduced the example of the United States, of Switzerland, and of Holland, where the nomination of the Presidents was made by two degrees, even three degrees in one of those republics; but he must allow me to beerve that that example applies as badly to the question of the nomination of the President as to that of the single chamber. Those republics which have been cited to us are always at hand unprincipled "skinners and cow boys" who | federal States; what was to be personified in their Presidents was not the expression of individual value, but of a federation. That is the secret of the constitutions of those countries. But France has nothing analogous to these federations, which are held up to us as examples, without understanding the nature and the necessities of our country.

All the seven or more amendments by which the ultra-democra's and the government party labored to devolve on the not in perpetuity-failed in a degree beyond the expectation of The decision, by a vote of 627 to 130, was as follows: "The President is nominated by ballot, and by a majority of the departments and of Algeria." It was further decided that the minimum of suffrages necessary to make a President shall be two millions; and if no candidate be returned with that or more, then the Assembly to choose a President out of the five highest candidates. An amendment was rejected which excluded the descendants of the families that have reigned in that he rejected the appellation of pretender, which was constantly "thrown at his head." He cuts a poor figure in the having been returned by five departments-three hundred

constitution has been voted and revised, or after the organic

laws have been enacted? Cavaignac and his Ministers ex-

by the end of the present. The grossost inconsistercy and

seif-cont adiction are so common here that we can scarcely be

surprised at any instance; but we may remark the extreme

boldly manifested by the chief authors and agents of the re-

their special creed, their grand arcaoum, their battle-cry.

The National admitted that it might be well to introduce, as

a principle, into the constitution, the election of President by | LORD BROUGHAM ON THE LATE REVOLUTION | the people; but the application or fruition of it should be ad journed, on account of the momentary portentous dangers of the republic. The adjournment, as planned, would have been sine die, and for the indefinite prolongation of the absolute rule of the bureau and instruments of the National. But the organs of the ultra-radicals and the socialists hold a stronger language. For example, the Démocratie Pacifique, of which the editor is in the Assembly :

"Until all Frenchmen be enlightened, and as long as uni versal suffrage shall be far above the average intellect of the country, while the execise of it is pregnant with dangers, the Assembly are imperatively bound to regulate and limit its ap-

La Reforme, conducted by Flocon, a representative and ex-Minister of Commerce, treats the decision of the Assembly in this strain :

"The house was excessively feverish and agitated; you night perceive that when about to give a vote which was to afford legal scope to the dynastic aspirations, it was a prey to the distressing presentiment of the calamities and crises which the pretenders prepare for France. The majority, however, ventured to the last hazard. The new republicans, who once deprecated universal suffrage, manifested the most scrupulous nderness for this indefeasible right of their adored sover of the people-with the spirit of Judas. The deed is done universal suffrage, betrayed by ignorance, wretchedness, or illusive reminiscences, should err so far as to choose a pre-tender, we must bow to its majesty; according to the committee and the house, no one citizen whatever can be exclud-ed, even for the public safety, without violating fundamental Wonderful this, and grieved we are, truly, that the Assembly flid not at once repeat the decree which exiled that charming young gentleman, the descendant of Henry IV, and the whole nest of the Orleans family. May not the people, in the plenary exercise of their sovereignty, annul, tomorrow, the dec ee, and consecrate, by their votes, the pre-tensions of Henry V. or the Prince de Joinville? Huzza, gentlemen! let us have a royal President, with his council of ministers, as of old. Alas, poor republic, may God have you in his holy keeping! Better would seem herelitary monarchy, with its charter and its prestige, than the arrangement to which you assign the title of republican government. The instincts, the hopes, the ideas of the revolution have been crushed; the real people and their men are proscribed; we have but to mourn the extinction of our liberties. A Presilent-that is, a master : justice has become impossible; intrigue and selfishness prevail; our noble work of February perishes; a few of us survive, indeed, clinging to the masts the sinking ship. Still, the campuign is not over; we know these cunning tacticians, these parliamentary heroes; they never dared to stand battle elsewhere—the battle of We are resolved—the pretender chosen by the urn, whoever he may be, will have to fight for his sovereign prerogativeour party will die to a man, rather than brook a royalty." PARIS, OCTOBER 12, 1848.

The weather has continued beautiful and warm. We en-

oyed the sun of May in September; at this rate, observe some of the scribblers, we may have July in December. All the parterres of the garden of the Tuileries, which I see from leanists in genera regarded it as opening the best chances for | the window of my study, exhibit the richest verdure; between a monarchical cloice or a moderate and orderly republic. 3 and 5 o'clock the garden swarms with well-dressed children Every one believed it to be propitious for Henry V. and Na- and their nurses, and ladies and gentlemen in fashionable atnoteon Louis : the risk, however, they held less formidable than tire, with a multitude of mere loungers of respectable aspect. the gratification of the views of the Mountain and the coterie | The blouses appear there no longer. In an hour's walk, yesof the National Among the extracts which I enclose for terday, between four and sir, over the boulevards, I noted the you, you may find an amusing specimen of the first day's crowds of pedestrians, as of yore, with the old vivacity of step and mein; the open shops were frequented, but the number On the 2d LANGUINE respect all the honors, and produced closed is every where more considerable than within the thirty indescribable sensaton, by a splendid harangue in behalf of or thirty-five years past. We are told of a revival of business the right of the people to the selection of the executive chief, at Lyons, which certainly was not expedited by the recent and the expediency or necessity of yielding it at once, what- exploits of the garde mobile of that city. The pay of these youth ever the consequences to be apprehended. He insisted that not having been duly received, they took possession of the the die was cast as to the universal application of universal Hotel de Ville, and kept prisoners for some hours the prefect suffrage; it must be stood-the haza d-reaching even, as it and other authorities. After two days of military array and did, the perdition of the republic, the restoration of monarchy, defiance on both sides, the arrival and distribution of the moor the establishment of military despotism. The harangue ney terminated the revolt. Detachments of the garrisons of clashed with his famous speech of the 27th ultimo, the pur- the interior are employed yet, in several of the provinces, in port of which is statel in one of my antecedent epistles. But | putting down resistance of the peasantry to the targatherers. the poet-politician camet be consistent. A journalist, admiring | Yesterday afternoon the National Assembly rescinded the old his rhetorical powers, observes : "We require, indeed, a tow- decree of banishment of the Bonaparte family, without dissent. ering and vigorous crief for the republic; but Lamartine is But the organs of the red republic complain, this day, of the not the man; he is the variable-too easily acted upon; he imprudent lenity. An animated debate followed on a motion, resembles an . Edian harp, which sounds admirably, it is long pending, that no journal should be suspended by the true, under the wind, from what direction soever it may hap- | Executive, even during the maintenance of the état de siège, pen to blow." Other editors are not charitable. One says: or martial law. It was argued again that the Draconian laws M. Lamartine has nade a presidential speech ; itis a mani- lately passed about the press should suffice, and the commonfesto of candidateship.' Another: "He disposed of all the places touching liberty of opinion and publication were vehepretenders to clear the road for himself; he knew that he had mently declaimed. Cavaignac remained silent; his Minister less chance with the Assembly than with the masses." He of Justice argued that the Assembly had already refused to adduced his belief that if France was not republican by her interfere in the matter, and had sanctioned the proceedings of habits, if "she was still monarchical by her vices," she was the Executive; the circumstances which compelled the Garepublican in her ideas. Evidently, however, at the close of vernment to resort to them existed without sensible improvethe speech, he despinded; he contemplated a bottomless gulf ment; there was the same necessity for absolute control; he yawning for the whole system which he had proclaimed at the moved the previous question. The affirmative vote was 345 Hotel de Ville. As he repudiated American example in the to 335-very close, and very significant for the Executive. quesion of a Senate, so be did in that of the Presidentship : If Cavaignac had exercised less partiality in his visitationshis

It is effirmed to-day that he will at once remove the intertical in erpretation of the vote. Nuisances enough were tole-Presse and a few other sheets of consequence. Every advanrelated to himself or his family alone. Our garrison this winter is to consist of fifty thousand troops, including the garde mobile and the republican guard; it is dubbed the army f occupation. The larger the better. Our municipal counmillions of francs for the interval ending April next, and that the number of the distressed to share the fund may reach three hundred thousand. The cholers, being in London, will probably cross the channel. What will then be the situation of Paris? The climax is fearful. Yesterday it was widely believed that substitutions in the ministry of Cavaignac would be proclaimed this morning. The General was to relieve himself in part from the influences and associations of the Na. tional, and enlist such coadjutors as Bedeau, Dufaure, Vivien, De Tocqueville, who now command a majority in the Assem-

tion. Lamartine's organ, La Bien Public, recommends it this day strenuously. The colored gentlemen elected in Mar-Assembly the election roundly or virtually—for the nonce if tinique to the Assembly are not quite sure of their seats; an or inspires those who now profess to be engaged in by far the inquiry is to be prosecuted into the regularity of the proceedings. There was some curiosity on the first entrance of one of them, but it has wholly ceased. The coricatures of the representatives from the menagerie of the garden of plants are as facetions as they are impudent. Satire and burlesque have not been spared with reference to the recent peace-congress at Brussels, where Mr. Burrit, of Massachusetts, held a conspicuous station. The purpose of such a convocation, though deemed chimerical, should be esteemed; I would not find fault, except perhaps in relation to the eulogy, without stint, which the members of these philanthropic congresses always begin by pronouncing on each other's superlative labors and

You have marked, no doubt, the material European events Napoleon, though he disdained ambitious oratory, could pro- Frankfort, like the invasion of our Assembly in May, and nounce a laconic address of irresistible impression. The with the results; the conflicts at Cologne and imposition of Prince, though watched from floor and gallery, seems rather the law martial; the military riots at Potsdam; the troubles forlorn, or suffering ennui; in his place, he sits with his arms at Vienna; the successful rebellion at Leghorn; the republicrossed and his head on his shoulder, as if there was nothing can and abortive enterprise in the Grand Ducty of Baden; the remonstrances of Austria, backed by the German Imperial Government, with Switzerland; the fresh revolutionary or anti-Russian combinations in Moldavia and Wallachia, des tined to be spedily and fully suppressed; the repugnance and argumentative resistance of the Court of Naples to the British and French mediation in behalf of the Sicilians, and the clouds which have thickened over the negotiations concerning the

Our most important foreign scene is the struggle between Austria and Hungary; the Journal des Debats of this day hinks, from is direct advices, that the Hungarians must succumb; the National, pretending to information of equal au-thority, thinks otherwise. Enclosed you have the decisive rescript of the Emperor. The National Assembly at Frankfort becomes more and more hostile to republicanism and anarchy the dispositions of the Assembly at Berlin are growing more favorable to the royal cause. On the 8th instant the new and I be ral constitution for Holland was adopted by two-thirds of second chamber, and will be immediately ratified by the first chamber and the King. The astronomical controver the Paris Academy of Sciences may be considered as at an and The Compte Rendu, of the sitting of the 2d instant contains Le Ve rier's second memoir on the planet Neptune. Those high sutherities, Biot, Cauchy, and Faye sided him emphatically and entirely; the English luminaries, Herchel, Hind, Graham, do the same ; Mr. Maury, the director the observatory at Washington, was cited in the list of the eminent auxiliaries who had refuted the paradoxes by which it had been attempted to pervert public opinion on Le Verrier's discovery." The scientific reporters of our journals Verriet's discovery." The scientific reporters of our journals declare M. Babinet to be vanquished. Herschel is preparing a thorough disquisition and final sentence. IN FRANCE.

We copy the following extracts, with the accom-

panying remarks, from the London Morning Post: We continue, from our paper of the 11th instant, a hasty eview of this singular work. We may well venture to bestow upon it that appellation, because with rapid pen the noble author treats in a manner peculiar to himself the entangled and complicated subject of French politics, and those events especially which may be supposed to have given rise to the sanguinary struggle which has resulted in an abortive constitution and an unsteady republic. The writer, in the course of his narrative, glides smoothly from political philosophy to analytical history, and from that again to exegetical criticism; he is here, there, and every where. One is carried along the path with a half-willing, half-distrustful step, but there is something seductive in his words, and we yield at length to their influence. Like the troublesome fellow on the Via Sa-

"___quis me scriberes plures, Aut citius, possit versus ? Quis membra movere Mollius ? Invideat quod et Hermogenes, ego canto."

The noble Lord, with somewhat more caution than candor, after indulging in a rhapsody on the constitution of England, thus expresses himself :

era, his Lordship may say-

"It is here I take my stand on behalf of all free States, all oppular constitutions. Of the defects in the former Govern-ment I say nothing; of the offences charged upon its Ministers not a word ; the merits of a republic I pass entirely over; t may for me be the most perfect form of polity that the wit man can devise, and monarchy may have all the sins that ever Democrat charged on royalty; the change of the old Government may have become expedient, even necessary; and the act which replaced it with a new one may deserve all the praises that have been lavished upon its perpetrators; nay, the absolute power held for three months by men without the shadow of a title to any authority at all, may have been wisebest, for the present at least, that the general subject should best, for the present at least, that the general subject he whole sudden, unpremeditated displacing one system and establishing another; to revolutions made with the magic wand of an en chanter : monarchies destroyed at a blow-republics founded n a trice—constitutions made extempore—improvised—I must favor the idea of authorizing the construction of such a work use a foreign word-we have none to express the thing-our sober English habits with difficulty allow us to utter a few sentences in this unpremeditated fashion; we have neither the wish nor the power to make any thing but a speech off-hand, stock necessary for its construction could be obtained without operation. But the phenomenon of its being, and now for the first time exhibited to the incredelous wonder of mankind, has proven, also, that Congress will not be likely to make one. s well fitted to empley our most serious thoughts, and I will fearlessly predict that, sooner or later, it will cause them most deeply to pouder over it who have the deepest interest in its laid before

of all confidence—all sense of security in any existing Gov-ernment. None can now be held safe for an hour. No apearance of stability can avail any thing. No possession, nowever quiet, can secure the title; no surrounding calm can give the certainty that all is safe. However deep, however proad the foundations may be laid, a sudden blast of the popu- as that city, by its enterprise, has already secured a very large, lar gale may level the structure in the dust. Indeed, the incurity which has now been proved the lot of all is much nore remarkable in free than in absolute Governments. In nese a sudden rising may destroy the ruler, but there is little risk of the system being changed; in those, the safeguards of the people may, at a moment's notice, be converted into the trument of destroying both the present rulers and the then cheme of policy over which they preside."

Again, he observes further on : 'A constitution which is manifestly, in all men's eyes carious, can never engage their love, because it never can spire them with confidence. It is seen to be building upon e sand, and our respect is only commanded by the structur ounded upon a rock. The moral taste at once rejects mere vmmetry and ornament. Solidity alone is beauty in such vorks; and where there is ever-varying aspect the marks of solidity vanish. The contemplation is of a fabric that appears at one view to have one form and color, and when we avert our eyes and think of it no more it has assumed a different shape and hue, or peradventure has been swept away by puff of wind; and when we awake, as it were from our reve-, not even the ruins are left, but another building has been raised to bewilder our imagination. Nay, it is worse with a political system that is ever changing, for we can form no definite idea, no distinct picture of it, to remember when it i rone; we can only mark the constant change that it is undering. It becomes a mere ideal abstraction, and men's affecions never can be engaged by such things. . Patriotism is ugendered by the love and respect fell for real existence, for constitution fixed and defined, not conditional and pronational. Men feel devotion to a real country, not to an ever changing abstraction. What they know, that they can love, what they distinctly apprehend, in that they feel an in-terest. What never abides long enough to be understood, but is ever flitting before them, that they can care little about When Mr. Burke unfolded the real meaning of what we call our country, and love as such; when he described the desolation of England, its institutions destroyed, its society broker up, all its worthier inhabitants (the resources and ornaments of the State) dispersed in exile, and the land left widewed and forlorn, he justly asked if that was the country to which his affections could cling. But even the picture he then drew ented an object attachment than the ephemeral republic of France now disrated. He is personally assailed—bitterly reviled—by La plays to her people; for no man can pretend to tell what it is, none can apprehend its form and character, or can even Presse and a few other sheets of consequence. Every advantage is taken of his declaration that he would disregard what uncertainty—all they know about it is that they know nothing. To prevent general anarchy—universal confusion and bloodshed—a kind of tacit agreement has been come to, that, whatever any persons may do who by any chance happen to be at any time in the possession of force of any description, shall be submitted to as long as they can prese is announce that they need an eleemosynary fund of nine of peace—the name rather than the reality of that blessing That a Government so constituted should possess any restrength, or have any firm hold on the public State thus administered, and existing, as it were, for the moment and by sufferance, should be regarded with the affection ate devotion which we call patriotism, is altogether out of

" It is equally impossible that men should care about the form which such a Government may assume; for all fee convinced that it can only be temporary. Their representa-tives may go through the farce of deliberating upon a new constitution. Who cares about the result of their debate? Who gives himself the trouble to reflect whether a wise of bly. But, methinks, affairs are not quite ripe for the coali- a foolish system has been formed; whether knowledge drawn from calm observation of other people's experience, from learn ed comparison of various schemes actually tried, or presump tuous ignorance, or vain, futile, visionary speculation, guides most difficult work that mortals can undertake-a work, indeed, hardly possible to be executed, because no man can foresee things that are afterwards to happen, and few men can even exercise full and accurate circumspection of those things that actually exist around them."

The opinions here expressed are undoubtedly sound, and conformable to the experience we derive from an examination of the relative merits of the various forms of government which, from ancient times to the present, have engaged the attention of thinking men. The people of France, says the noble Lord, guze on the affairs of State Just as they do on a stage play, and care as little for the result. "The fact is in- great highway from western North America and Mexico to contestable that the debates on the constitution excite no interest among the people for whom it is now framing. France has had so many within a few years—somewhere about ten, including one or two which fell still-born from the womb of the anarchy they were conceived in-that the eleventh could hope for little attention, even had its plan been sketched out n a less turbulent season." We cannot, therefore, wonder at the slow progress made with the present constitution, nor at the indifference with which its roults are generally regarded. But nevertheless-

"It is truly a most serious evil for any people to be placed in this position of entire indifference to the frame of the Gov-ernment which their representatives are engaged in devising ; and still more if, as is quite inevitable, the same indifferent in good part extends to those representatives themselves. A new source of error, and a most fearful one, is added to the ordinary one of factious and personal feeling, always ready to bias those engaged in making the laws. The control of pubto what statesmen are doing is really no public at all—the disturbing force of those party and personal feelings becomes far more powerful. What can be expected from legislation carried on in such circumstances? What, but that its results should betray its source, partaking of all the errors which party resolutions and selfish motives can produce but that the constitution, when promulgated, should be found, in most parts, a crude, ill-digested, inconsistent scheme; in others a scheme to consult individual interests rather than the general good—a system in which the most obvious consideraons are wholly overlooked, and the observer is left at a loss so determine whether its blunders of omission are more glaring than its sins of commission are flagrant?

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RAILROAD TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN-No. III.

TERRE HAUTE, OCTOBER 24, 1848. D. S. DANALSON, Eq. : Other engagements, which called ne from home, have prevented me from continuing regularly my letters on the importance and necessity of constructing s Railroad to the Pacific I hope I shall now be able to do so without interruption.

Since the publication of my first letter several very ably written and interesting articles have appeared in the "National Intelligencer," over the signature of " Opithloco," on "the trade of Chita," which very conclusively show the importance of the trale to the United States. I take it for granted, however, that this is not doubted by any body. The eaders of the Intelligencer, especially, have heretofore had ample means of forming an opinion on this subject, as every thing that could be said about it was said, more than a year ago, in a series of artides on the " Commerce of the Pacific" and "Mills's route to the Pacific Ocean," which are understood to have been watten by Robert Mills, Esq. The very able report from the Hon. THOMAS BUTLER KING, from the Committee on Nava Affairs, of the House of Representatives, referred to by " apithloco," contains also very valuable information on this subset. So also does that of the Hon. THOMAS H. BENTON, from which I have quoted in my first letter. I have not been able to find any earlier or more valuable suggestions on the subject than those made by Mr. Benton

" Opithloco," who has evidently studied this subject, differs with me only as o the point on the Mississippi from which the road shall stat west. He suggests Memphis, and have given the preference to St. Louis. I do not attach very much importance to the point, as there will, doubtless, be a connexion with the main trunk from all the principal cities of the United States, if the eastern terminus is not too fur north. This view I suggested in my second letter. was, however, a mere suggestion, as I am not certain that it good policy to discuss, at present, the respective claims of rival cities or points, inaspuch as such discus be considered only as it tears upon the trade of the whole country, and not upon particular parts. The work must be a national one. It is only by preserving for it that character that constitutional difficulties are to be avoided. I do not by a company, under a charter from Congress. An enter-prise of this kind should not be left to individual management. prise of this kind should not be let to inclivious the latter were obtained, that the it is not probable, if such a charter were obtained, that the without the means of describing so fantastic an a grant of public lands, and there are very many good object Another writer in the Intelligencer, "Charles Fletcher, of Lancaster," speaks of a plan which he understands will be

Congress at its next session, by a Mr. Carver, msequences—the French people themselves.

"The inevitable result of this experiment is the destruction who resides near the falls of St. Authony. From what Mr. Fletcher says, I infer that both he and Mr. Carver will give preference to a route passing from Chicago to Galena, and from thence through Iowa to the Council Bluffs, on the Missouri river. This route is not liable to all the objections that Whitney's is, but it is to one prominent one. It is too far north to accommodate any considerable portion of the route, perhaps the largest share of the trade that passes our North re lakes. But it would render it almost impossible for the Southern, Southwestern, and some of the Western States to unite with the main stem of the road by lateral branches. Either the Memphis or St Louis route are much preferable to this, as all parts of the United States could connect with

I have said that such a work as this should not be placed in the hands of a company. It is unquestionably much better that it should be done entirely by the General Government. If there are large profits to be made by it, they will, when the road is paid for, either go into the Treasury for the support of the Government, or, which would be preferable, constitute fund for the construction of other roads in different parts of the Union. I agree, however, that a much more rigid system of economy must be adopted than has heretofore prevailed on our public works; but this must be dependant, in a great measure, upon the character of the gentlemen who shall be charg ed with the work. At all events, I am satisfied that the whole work may be completed for the sum stated by me, \$10,000,000, and perhaps less. What is such a sum as this to a nation like curs, especially when we consider the vast importance of the work to be accomplished?

I had, to show the commercial importance of this route, tended to condense some of the views of Lieut. Maury, of the United States Navy; while engaged in doing so, I found the following in the "Western Christian Advocate," which is quite sufficient for the purpose designed. It is from the pen of Dr. M. Simpson, late President of the Indiana Asbury

University. He says : "It is well known to mariners and geographers, and recently public attention has been called to the fact by Lieut. Maury, United States navy, that the nearest route between any two points is not the parallel of latitude joining them, but the arc of a great circle passing through them. In examining maps we are deceived as to the direction of sailing on this account but if any one will take a globe and connect any two places by a string tightly drawn, it will show the dire sel should take were there no obstacles. By thus joining the ports of Chili and Peru with those of China, it will ! perceived that the direct line will pass close to Monterey. In-deed, the line will touch almost the whole continent south of Monterey. Lieut. Maury has further shown that this line u-ed as deposites for coal, &c., and thus would divide the distance, making the passage either from Monterey or China to those islands somewhat less than the distance from Liverpool to Halifax. Steamers might then traverse the ocean regularly in at least thirty days. Were this route determined upon, as it probably will be in a few years, the whole trade

of China, and much of that of India, must pass this way.

"If, then, Monterey were joined with New York by railroad and telegraphic communication, the commercial intelligence, and much of the trade, would pass over our continent on its way to Europe. If we join New York with Monterey, the firect connecting line would pass near Milwaukie; but as this is too for north to admit of a direct route, we think it highly direct connect able that St. Louis would be made a point, and from thence trade would pass by the various routes connecting that place with the East."

When we consider these great commercial advantages combined with a soil in many places productive, and a cli-mate at once pleasant and salubrious, can we doubt that Califorma is destined to contain a large population? Emigration will take place from China as well as from the older States and Europe; and here will commence, in all probability, that mingling of the races which will lead to the renovation of Asia. Already we see it announced that a colony of Chinese are about starting for California; and when that overteeming country shall find itself connected with one so inviting—on which can offer such great inducements-will not the emigra The enterprise of America will pass tion vastly increase? to Asia, converted and enterprising Chincse will return to their own land, bearing the Gospel as missionaries, and the arts and manufactures of our land to the shores of the Celestial Berpire; and, ere long, the thrones of China and Japa wil shake like those of France and Austria.

Licut. Maury expresses a preference for the route from Memphis as "the most central and direct route that has ever been proposed from the United States to China." He thinks the distance from Memphis by Monterey and the great circle is only seven per cent. greater than it is by a "bee line drawn through the air from Meraphis direct to Shangbae, it China. He also thinks that "Monterey is directly on the China," and that "this fact is of itself sufficient to show why the preference should be given to it as the American termi-nus of the line" of steamers authorized by the act of Congress.

He says . "Memphis is the point of departure for this coule—a city in the heart of the country, and occupying central position. It is situated right on the wayside of the great national highway and commercial thoroughfares between the North and South, the East and West. The Charleston and Savannah Railroad will connect it with the Atlantic. The dississippi river already connects it with the Gulf and the Lokes, and with thousands of square leagues of a rich and thriving country, through a ramified system of navigable tri tutories which, if drawn out in a continuous stream, would

more than encircle the entire globe."

Considering this geographically the most direct route, he also says, "I did not select Whitney as a link in the chain, because it is out of the way of the great circle's route from western America to China; because it lice within a colder region, and world be liable to obstruction in winter; and be-cause the harbor at the mouth of the Columbia river is not

umparable to those in California."

I repeat, however, that I should regard it as unfortunate repeat, discrete, that I should regard it as unfortunate it sectional prejudeces should be excited in regard to this great national undertaking. If they shall be indulged, the whole project may be defeated. It is rather to be hoped that we shall first unite in the determination to build the road, and then let the points of location be determined with a just regard

to the public welfare.

And I cannot suppose that there is much diversity of opinto be practicable at a reasonable cost. Every body can see at a glance that it must stand without a rival in the world; and that, in fact, the whole commercial world would be tributary to it. It is indeed impossible to estimate its importance, either in a commercial or national sense. Viewed in the for mer light, it must tend to increese, to an unimaginable ex-tent, the trace of the United States; and in the latter to bind

Nor should there be any further delay of action on this important subject. Not only is the United States, but the whole world, aroused to the importance of securing the immense trade of China and the East Indies; and it cannot be

expected that the efforts of Europe to do so will at this time be suspended or abated. Notwithstanding, as far back as the days of Herman Coxtez, it was thought possible and expedient to unite the two oceans by a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and that since that time nearly every civilized Government has talked of doing it; yet, even now, the idea of doing so is not finally abandoned. ernment has made a recent exploration of the route across the Isthmus, from which it appears that the whole distance will be "about 47 miles in length, of which 323 are between the Chagres and the Pacific, 74 between the Chagres and the bay of Simon, and about six along the bed of the river itself."
M. Garella, the commissioner who made the examination, thinks that a canal 22 feet 9 inches deep, 146 feet 3 inches wide at water surface, 64 feet wide at bottom, with ninetyfour locks, to reach the summit level, may be constructed but he recommends "the magnificent experiment" of building a tunuel through the mountain of a height sufficient to permit the passage of vessels with 120 feet of mast standing, and three miles and one-third in length. He estimates the total expense of the work at 125 millions of francs, or five millions

J. C. Pickett, Esq., our late Charge d'Affaires to Perp. ir a series of letters written to the Corresponding Secretary of the National Institute, has expressed the belief that, to make this canal across the Isthmus, " is likely to puzzle the ingenuity of all Christendom;" and the most of us concur in th opinion. But still it may be well to consider whether it is not possible, and, if possible, whether some of the European Governments may not attempt and actually execute it, while we are talking of this railroad, unless we act speedily and energetically. To impress the necessity of this upon the country is the chief object of these letters.

Although I have declined to give a decided preference for any of the routes south of Whitney's, I am still inclined to the belief that the St. Louis route will combine more advantages than any other yet proposed. It is very evident that the cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore must continue to be the chief commercial emporiums of the East, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis of the West, and New Orleans and Charleston of the South, while Buffelo and Chicago will maintain that position in the North, or the Lake regions. The great object to be accomplished in this "Na-tional road" will be to give to each of these cities a fair opportunity to share its trade, which can only be done by ma ing its eastern terminus at such a point as will give them all the means of reaching it; and, this being done, all portions o

I believe it is now conceded that any line of railroad communication which shall cross the Alleghany Mountains, connect-ing the Eastern cities with the Western States, must pass through the State of Ohio, and that it is quite as probable that a road will be built from Charleston to Louisville as from Charleston to Memphis. There is now contemplated and in progress roads from the most of the prominent points in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, which will connect with both these roads and with St. Louis. By the time the New York roads are continued around the slope of Lake Eric into Ohio, or the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad is finished to Wheeling or Parkersburg, the roads now in progress through Ohio will unite with one or both of them; and these will be connected with those of Indiana and Illinois, which will pass from St. Louis to Cincinnati and Louisville. If, therefore, St. Louis shall be the point, a branch to Memphis will accommodate the Southern region; or if Memphis shall be, one to St. Louis will accommodate the North and East-Little Rock, in Arkansas, being the diverging point.

R. W. THOMPSON.

TOBACCO FOR FRANCE.

The French Consul at Richmond has made the following publication, which we copy for the benefit of the Tobacco Trade :

RICHMOND, NOVEMBER 15, 1848. Under directions from the Administrator General of Toboc-co in France, notice is hereby given to the commercial com-munity that on the 28th day of December, 1848, at 1 o'clock P.M., at the Minister des Finances, in public session, scaled proposals will be received and an adjudication will be made to the lowest bidders for the supply of the national manufac ories of France, to wit : 1st. For 2,400,000 kilogrammes of Virginia leaf tobacco.

of the crop of 1848, in accordance to four specified qualities. 2d. For 2,400,060 kilogrammes of Maryland leaf tobacco, of the crop of 1848, in accordance to four specified qualities. 3d. For 1,000,000 kilogrammes of Kentucky leaf tobacco, of the crop of 1848, in accordance to four specified qualities. 4th. For 500,000 kilogrammes of Hungary leaf tobacco, of the crop of 1848, of which one-balf Debretzin" and one-half "Szeghedin," each in accordance to three specifie

5th. For 500,000 kilogrammes of Macedonia leaf tobacco. of the crop of 1848, in accordance to three specified qualities 6th. For 200,000 kilogrammes of Greek leaf tobacco, of the crop of 1848, in accordance to one specified quality.

7th. For 100,000 kilogrammes of Havana leaf tobacco, of the crop of 1848, in accordance to one specified quality.

Separate proposals will be required for each of these seven lassifications, to be offered at the opening of the session on the above mentioned day.

N.B. The "Cahiers des charges" will be delivered to

nose interested, on application at the Chancellerie of this Consulate.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY .- The followng is an extract from the proceedings of the last monthly meeting of this Society:

The corresponding secretary read a letter of acknowledgment from Prof. Hanny, of the Smithsonian Institution, ately elected an honorary member, in which he expresses his intention, at some convenient season, to address the Society in explanation of the plan, objects, and progress of that In

A note from Dr. WM. J. BARRY, late Surgeon 11th regiment U. S. Infantry, was read, accompanying three interesting Mexican maps of the battles of Buena Vista and of the Valley of Mexico.

The President read two letters from G. W. P. Custis, Esq., giving the details of the uniform and equipments of the officers and men of the revolutionary army of the United States. Mr. Castis mentions in one of his letters, that he is engaged on a picture of the battle of Monmouth, fought June 1778, in which several distinguished revolutionary commanders are introduced, with the various corps so arranged as to give not only a vivid idea of the battle at the interesting moment when Washington checked the retreat of Lee's divi-sion, but also to show the costume of the officers and soldiers.

LAKE SUPERIOR COPPER .- A vessel recently left the Sant St. Marie with the following cargo of copper belonging to the Cliff Mine Company :

Making 381,693 lbs., besides some four masses of native copper weighing 2,000 lbs., belonging to the Pittsburg and sle Royale Company.

IMPROVED CIDER MILL.-At Madison, New Jersey, there s a cider mill which consumes about twelve hundred hushels f apples per day. The apples are not ground or broken by queezing between nuts, as in the common cider mill, but they are cut into very thin slices by sharp knives, around two revolving cylinders, and then pressed in a machine, from which the juice comes out entirely free from the pulp and other things which are found in new cider at the old mills, the cider re

aining its sweetness a longer time.

The price of apples was perhaps never lower than this year. The farmers bring them by the wagon load ten or fifteer miles, and seil them at the mill for five cents a bushel.—Jour. Com.

BURSTING OF A GRENDSTONE .- An instantaneous death was caused on the 7th instant at Dundas, Canada West, by one of these accidents. The deceased, John Car grinding an axe on the stone in the axe factory of Mr. Lea-vett; the stone suddenly burst asunder, and the head of the unfortunate man was almost literally struck from his body, adhering only by some strips of the skin. The stone was believed not to be truly poised on its axle, and it was revolving at an immense velocity, more than two hundred and fifty turns in a minute.

THE MINES-DISCOVERY OF COAL .- We learn that the hands at the lead mines, at the Kellogg diggings, are all busily engaged in raising the ore, the deposites of which seem in-exhaustible. Discoveries of many new leads have lately been made. In "prospecting" for lead, about six miles northeast of the main diggings, a few days since, a bed of fine coal was struck a few feet from the surface of the ground. At the last accounts the shalt had been sunk some distance in the coal, and it was thought that the bed would prove to be very thick and extend over a large area.—Little Rock Democrat.

The New York Commercial Advertiser thus announces the death of the Boa Constrictor which was lately purchased for the Museum in that city:

DEATH OF A WELL-KNOWN RESIDENT .- We regret to an nounce the death of one who, though but comparatively a short time resident in this city, had made many sequeintences. short time resident in this city, had made many sequaintances, and was very generally known. Since he first came among us he has resolutely refused all food, although no expense hes been spared by his friends to procure for him such seasonable dainties as might possibly tempt his appetite. He has resolutely fasted now for several months. Exhausted nature could hold out no longer, and on Saturday Mr. Barnum's bos constrictor died, at its headquarters, the American Museum. It is said to have cost \$1,500.

At a late Court of Common Pleas at Zanesville, Mary Me Cielland recovered a verdict of \$3,000 against John Vande vert, for a breach of promise of matriage. Paying pretty de for a few months' courting.